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SARDAR VALLABHBHAI IN GUJARAT

EXTRACTS FROM HIS SPEECHES

Bardoli, 17-1-'49

Swaraj means *Rama Rajya*. *Rama Rajya* means the taming of both the tiger and the goat so that both could drink from the same reservoir standing side by side. In other words, it means that Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Sikhs must be regarded as all members of the same family. None is high, none low. None untouchable. Gandhiji instilled this lesson into our minds not by force but through truth and non-violence. When the landholder and the cultivator consider each other as members of the same family, both will be happy. The peasant labourer is ignorant and inefficient. But if he always remains so, the responsibility is the landlord's and the loss is his, because his children and the labourer's children will all play together.

The people of the Bardoli Taluka had vowed to get Swaraj. Now they must pledge themselves for the establishment of *Rama Rajya*. It is not difficult to do so. It is the work which you must now undertake. It will be one year on the 30th of January since Gandhiji's death. So we must pledge ourselves to the task of establishing true Swaraj. In getting rid of the foreign Government, we had to face several hardships. We were required to go to jails and have our property attached, sold and confiscated. What we have to do now is to change our own hearts.

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We are very much mistaken if we think that the achievement of independence implies that it is now for the Government to do everything needed by the people. If we are sincere and work in co-operation with the Government for five years, India will be on her road to prosperity. If we abandon true effort, we shall lose everything.

It is not that the government is faultless. No government is so. But the fault of the government is the fault of the people. If we feel that the present government should be dismissed, I would lead such movement. But in that case we must first create a good body which could carry on a better administration. If we rear one good garden, we would be able to raise several such. Mere criticism is not as effective as demonstration through actual constructive work.

* * *

The greatest handicap in India is that we do not grow our own food. A country which has to depend upon imported food must in the end become a pauper. Instead of looking at the drawbacks of others, let us examine our own selves and attend to our own failings. India is regarded a religiously-minded country. But it really often means that the people have been accustomed to look at their own miseries as predestined.

There are two ways of producing food. Large scale schemes have been prepared but they require considerable machinery. They would take ten years to materialize. If we go on importing food from outside for ten years, we shall become insolvent. But if the government and Congress workers work shoulder to shoulder, much could be done.

Necessity is the mother of invention. It is not the Government which can grow more food. It is for the people to do it.

There is pressure on land in Gujarat. The population is dense. If we desire Gujarat to keep its old place, we must produce our food and our cloth.

Wherever this is done through large industries, it has created a number of problems. We must keep abreast of times and face them properly.

* * *

When we were struggling against the British Government the Congress Committees were quite alert. There was life in their work. They had no internal disputes. But now there are disputes at the elections. If the Congress does not truly reflect Gandhiji's ideals and aspirations, who else will? We must, therefore, search ourselves and know where we want to go, what we must do and what we are doing.

* * *

Bardoli, 19-1-'49

India needs two articles — food and cloth. The war proved to us that we did not produce them in sufficient quantities. Before the war, we used to import rice from Burma. It was cheaper than Indian rice. Now we have to import grains worth crores of rupees. The exporting countries dictate their rates. During the war, 30 lakhs of people died of starvation in Bengal. It was a sacrifice made on the altar of war. Today no one is allowed to die of starvation in spite of difficulties, floods or famine. It is true that several go only half fed. Our present

position is that we have to pay crores of rupees for mere freight of ships. The provinces which grow more food than they need do not part with it liberally for maintaining their sister provinces. They hoard their grain and then sell it stealthily in the black market. The Congressmen advise the people not to part with their grains. In order to preserve their leadership, they give them hopes of getting better rates.

Where shall we then bring food from? The countries which are prepared to sell it demand payment in their own coins. The U. S. A. has plenty of cereals but it must have dollars. Moreover food is in demand almost all over the world. The world war has destroyed the factories of several countries in Europe, Asia and Japan, and the farmers and labourers there are in great difficulty. America would take jute in exchange for food but all the jute is in Pakistan, and so we are not in a position to give it. The only remedy is that we must produce our own food. If without producing our own food we close its import, people would be dying like ants.

We must think of the matter both on the long-term and short-term basis. The long-term scheme must have the aim of ensuring sufficient food for at least 50 or 60 years. But if we neglect the short-term scheme, we would have to pay crores and crores of rupees outside. To the extent labour gets more costly, we would need more notes, leading to inflation. Thus a vicious circle has set in and the only way of breaking it is to apply ourselves to work. The situation cannot be improved by anger, abuse or feeling disgusted. It can be remedied only by putting in our best effort and bearing patiently what cannot be helped. We must persuade the cultivator to raise two crops where he used to raise one, to sink a well wherever possible and thus raise as much crop as we can. Also we must take very great care in its use and preservation. Nothing should be allowed to go to waste.

* * *

The Bombay Government passed a Tenancy Act regulating the relations between the landlord and the tenant. If we now go on quarrelling about this, production of food will suffer. Raising quarrels is not the right way. We (landholders) must remember that our own people are in the Government. We must have the ability of convincing them. If in spite of our representations they are not convinced, let us remember that they are not doing it with any selfish motive and they are not inefficient people, but they honestly feel that the course adopted by them is the right one in the larger interests of the people. If in the friction between the landlord and the agricultural labour, the landlord does not act wisely, he will have to repent later on. I tried my best to convince them that they were doing harm to themselves. They must get out of the quarrel; they might get out of their homes also. The agriculturists of Surat have grown very good tobacco in Udaipur. Water is only 15 feet deep there. Our agriculturists had settled down in Africa also. But there is disturbance all over the world at present. The times have changed and a new age has set in. Different civilizations have come into existence. The one is the capitalist, the other communist and the third that of Gandhiji. You see the effects of the Russian civilization in China: intense civil war is going on there. No one knows what the final result will be. But what is the ultimate cause of it? It is that one cannot bear to see a few people possessing too much wealth. We must first of all find out how much total wealth we have and what each will get if it is distributed equally.

The city labourer finds it difficult to maintain himself in face of the present high prices at his present wages. But the village labourer does not get even that much. He owns neither land nor tools. If anyone thinks that on the achievement of independence, everything should set itself right overnight, he is greatly mistaken.

The structure of Swaraj was to be built upon the foundations laid down by Gandhiji. We did not do so. We simply talked and criticized. If we had worked according to Gandhiji's plans, we would have got Swaraj like a ripe and sweet fruit.

Gandhiji asked us to achieve communal unity. He worked for it till the end of his life and sacrificed his life for it. He also asked us to put on *khadi* and produce our own food. We all put on *khadi* caps because it has become a respectable pass. It is possible for the wearer of the *khadi* cap to aspire to sit on the biggest chair of the State and thus it has become simply the emblem of a new class or sect. Gandhiji's third stipulation was the removal of untouchability. Legally it has been done but we have not removed it from our hearts. His fourth item was prohibition. The people have not ceased to cast their coveting eyes on liquor. Only the Government has lost its revenue. I need not point at the labourers. High class families want good English wine. If we wish to establish *Rama Rajya*, we shall have to carry out these items fully and honestly.

When we were struggling against the foreign Government, we kept to some code of honour. But now even Congress workers have become anxious to occupy whatever seats might be available or to speak ill of those who have occupied them. If the energy which they put forth in resisting the old Government is employed in raising our own country, this would not happen. But we have fallen low, given up all codes of honour and are running a race for achieving selfish ends. We must get out of this evil.

* * *

If there are strikes in the work of transporting articles of necessity, the administration will break down. If we have to pay more money, there will be inflation.

* * *

I hear several people complaining that the administration is still carried on in the old form.

The officers are of the old type yet. These critics do not know how the administration is carried on at present. There were only 1500 first class officers. Of these 60 per cent were Englishmen and most of them have left. Some of the remaining were appointed as ambassadors and a few had to go with them. The Muslim officers opted for Pakistan. The result is that each Department is being run by a fourth of its former crew. Those who have been appointed in place of the old are efficient officers. They have been working night and day with full zeal. But for them the administration would break down. The Englishmen are surprised that we are able to carry on the administration without them.

* * *

The control on cloth was lifted but the merchants abused the measure and made large profits. They became objects of contempt to the people. We did not realize the true situation and began to find fault with the Government and so control had to be re-imposed. Owing to want of experience, a new class of distributors was created. This unemployed the mercantile classes and their clerks. When the price of cotton was fixed, merchants went in for the purchase of raw cotton at high rates. Now there is a demand for fixing the price of raw cotton, and thus like the bullock of the oil-crusher, we are moving round and round in a circle.

* * *

A rise in salaries will not put an end to corruption in railways. This is an evil which follows a war. Truth is the first casualty in war.

* * *

Let me warn Congress workers here present that unless we are sincere, we shall spoil all work. If we are sincere, the administration will improve. Some say that it is necessary to have an opposition for achieving improvement. But there is no opposition capable of standing as a rival. The people of the R. S. S. were an organized body but they spent their energies in infusing poison in the atmosphere. They are exhausted now and seek release by offering apologies.

* * *

It is futile merely to complain that the Government fails to do this or that. Let us not allow the work in Gujarat to go astray from the path chalked out by Gandhiji. If it so happens in Gujarat, it will happen also in other provinces. The days are gone when the only work to do was to write or strike. Now we have to *work with love.*

(Translated from Gujarati reports)

BAPU — MY MOTHER

By

Manubehn Gandhi

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EVOLVING NATIONAL LANGUAGE FOR INDIA

BASIC PROPOSITIONS

These are certain basic propositions which we must bear in mind in considering this vital question. We must remember that any hurried decision of it on a political plane or under the influence of momentary passions or prejudices may well prove harmful. We have to build for the future and a false foundation may well stunt our future growth not only linguistically but in the wider domain of culture and human advancement. It is far better to go slow and avoid every kind of rigidity. Language is a very delicate instrument, evolved in its higher aspects by fine minds and strengthened by the popular use of it. It grows like a flower and too much external compulsion retards that growth or twists it in a wrong direction.

It is not very material what we call this language, whether Hindi or Hindustani, except for the fact that every word has a history behind it and connotes something very definite, which limits its meaning. What we must be clear about in our minds is the inner content of the language and the way it looks at the world, that is, whether it is restrictive, self-sufficient, isolationist and narrow, or whether it is the reverse of this. We must deliberately aim, I think, at a language which is the latter and which has, therefore, a great capacity for growth. The English language, probably more than any other today, has this receptiveness, flexibility and capacity for growth. Hence its great importance as a language. I should like our language to face the world in the same way.

I am distressed at the way this question of language is considered and debated in India today. There is little of scholarship behind this argument and less of culture. There is no vision or thought of the future language. It is looked upon more as a kind of extended journalese and, a perverted nationalism demands that it should be made as narrow and restricted as possible. Any attempt to expand it is branded as a sin against this form of nationalism. Beauty in a language is often supposed to be an extreme ornateness and the use of long and complicated words. There is little vigour or dignity in evidence and one gets the impression of extreme superficiality and shallowness.

Just as poetry is not a mere collection of rhymes and metres, so also a language is not just a display of intricate and difficult words. Recent attempts to translate well-known common words from English are fantastic in the extreme. If this tendency persists, that surely is murder of a fine vehicle for the expression of thought.

SANSKRIT

If I was asked what is the greatest treasure that India possesses, and what is her finest heritage, I would answer unhesitatingly it is the Sanskrit language and literature and all that this contains. This is a magnificent inheritance and so long as this endures and influences the life of our people, so long will the basic genius of India continue. ...

I should like to promote the study of Sanskrit and to put our scholars to work to explore and bring to light the buried literature in this language that has been almost forgotten....

The true service of a language is to increase its value, practicability and inherent worth. (But) however great Sanskrit may be and however much we may like to promote its study, as we should, it cannot be a living language. But it must be, as it has been, the base and inner substance of most of our languages. That is inevitable. But an attempt to force this is neither inevitable nor desirable and is likely to lead to evil results.

Role of Persian

Persian has played an important role in the last few centuries in developing some of our provincial languages, more especially Hindustani and has affected our ways of thinking also to some extent. That is an acquisition and it makes us richer to that extent. It must be remembered that no language is nearer to Sanskrit than Persian, and indeed Vedic Sanskrit and Ancient Pahlevi are nearer to one another than Vedic Sanskrit and classical Sanskrit.

So a certain overlapping of the two is easy and does no violence to the genius of our language or our race. In any event a few hundred years of history and the life of the people have fashioned us for what we are, and it seems to me rather absurd and certainly unwise to try to undo this work of history.

From the cultural point of view, such an attempt at undoing and going back would mean depriving us of a cultural heritage which we possessed. It would mean making ourselves poorer. We should rather aim at richness and at accepting whatever adds to that cultural content. Therefore, any attempt at excluding what we have already absorbed is wrong from every point of view.

Characteristics of the All-India Language

If these considerations are borne in mind, it follows that the all-India language that we should seek to promote must be flexible, receptive and must retain all the cultural features that it has imbibed through the ages. It must also be a language essentially of the people and not of a small coterie of learned men. It must be dignified and full of power and it must rigorously try to put down artificiality, shallowness and ornateness.

Inevitably its base and a great deal of its content will be derived from Sanskrit, but it will include any number of words, phrases and ideas from other sources, notably Persian and also English and other foreign languages. In regard to its technical terms we should first of all accept every word that has been accepted in popular use. In coining new words, we should again try to approximate to popular use and understanding, and in regard to technical words, as far as possible, we should not detract from the world language that is growing up.

Basic Word List

It would be desirable to collect a number of basic words say 3,000 or so, which would be considered well-known common words, used by the people generally. These may often include alternative words for the same idea, provided both are in common use. This should be the basic vocabulary which every one, who desires knowledge of the all-India language, should know.

Yet another list of technical words should be prepared on the lines indicated above. I must say that many of the new words being used for technical terms are so extraordinarily artificial and meaningless in the real sense of the word, because they have no background or history behind them, that they horrify me.

If these two lists are prepared, the rest should be left to the natural growth of the language. No limitations should be put on anyone writing on what might be called pure literary Hindi or pure literary Urdu or anything in between. With the growth of education and a vaster reading public, this itself will exercise a powerful influence on the writers and speakers. Gradually, I have no doubt, that a fine and vigorous language will grow and expand without any compulsion from above.

Need for Dictionary

It is an astonishing thing that while we argue so much about a language, we have hardly any proper dictionaries. . . . One of the earliest steps to be taken is to concentrate on the production of scholarly and comprehensive dictionaries, both for Sanskrit and our modern languages.

Name

As I have said above, it is the content of a language that counts and not the name so much. Judging from the content I have indicated above, and using the words as they are used today, the word Hindustani comes nearest to the content of my choice.

Script

As for the script, it is clear that the Nagari script will be the dominant script. But again, because I think it wrong to be exclusive, both from the cultural and political point of view, I think that the Urdu script should be recognized and taught, where desired. We cannot ask all people to learn both these scripts. That is too much of a burden. But the Urdu script should be recognized more especially for presentation of documents and other papers and for teaching in schools where a sufficient number desires it.

This fits in with our general language policy, which has been declared both in the Congress and the Constituent Assembly to be: that every child should be given primary education in his or her mother tongue, provided there are a sufficient number of pupils in a particular place to make this practical. Thus in Bombay or Calcutta or Delhi, if there are a sufficient number of Tamil-speaking children, they should have an opportunity to have their primary education in Tamil. If in any part of India there are a sufficient number of children, whose home language is Urdu, they should be taught the Urdu script, in addition to the language of the province.

This principle has been accepted and it is desirable to give effect to it in practice as soon as possible. Many difficulties arise at present, more especially in the areas where two provinces meet together. On either side of this border, there is a bilingual area. It is necessary here, even more than elsewhere, that primary education should take place in the mother tongue.

ROMAN SCRIPT

I do not think it is possible for us to adopt in any wide scale the Roman script. But it must be remembered that the Roman script has been used with great effect in the army. It has been found very easy to teach the Roman script and it has proved a certain unifying force in the army. Therefore it would be desirable to explore the possibilities of the Roman script and to use it where possible or desirable.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

(Extracts from an article in *The Sunday News of India*, 13-2-'49)

CONGRESS AND CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS

II

Now, what about the Congress leaders refusing to turn the Congress into a constructive organization according to the wishes of Gandhiji and thus 'betraying' him? Is this charge justified? There is no doubt that the present Congress leadership has come in for much severe and unsympathetic criticism bordering on anger not only from their political opponents but surprisingly enough from their friends also, especially from the constructive workers. They are evidently much disappointed with the present Congress. But in my humble opinion this disappointment is due more to Congress not taking up or helping the constructive programme according to their expectations than to the fact that it was not turned into a Lok Sevak Sangh. One may not care to counteract the deliberate misrepresentation of the opponents or the enemy but one must try to remove the misunderstanding on the part of friends and co-workers, especially when such misunderstanding and consequent disappointment is the result of want of proper appreciation of the situation.

The historical task of the Congress of making India free from foreign domination was accomplished on the 15th of August, 1947 when she became politically independent. But to say that is not to say much, for, unless India attains moral, social and economic independence, the political independence which she has achieved will have no positive reality for the people. The question was whether the Congress should continue to work for this new goal or whether some other body should do it. Some advocated that the present Congress should dissolve itself and leave this new task to other existing or new political parties or organizations. Gandhiji himself was of the opinion that the present Congress should dissolve itself and flower into a Lok Sevak Sangh. The main difference between the past and the future organizations would be that the future Congress alias Lok Sevak Sangh will not carry on any political or parliamentary activities, nor will it enter into unhealthy competition with political parties or communal bodies. The leaders of the Congress followed neither of these two alternatives but chalked out a third part namely, of rejuvenating the old Congress by giving it a new creed, a new programme and a new constitution which was expected to make it a fit instrument to fulfil the noble role of ushering in a new social order in which the common man would get the fullest opportunity for the development of his personality. If the present Congress leadership which was inspired and initiated into public service by Gandhiji and which believing in his unerring judgment generally followed him, has thought it inadvisable to do so on this occasion, it must have had weighty reasons for acting as it has done.

If the Congress was dissolved or was turned into a constructive organization, then necessarily some other political organization must take its place. There could not be a vacuum. That would mean anarchy and ruin of the country. But was it possible for the Congress to do so even if it so desired? To whom was it to hand over the responsibility of the governance of the country? It was a sacred trust accepted by it on behalf of the people of India. For, it was to the Congress that power was transferred on the 15th of August, 1947; it was the Congress who was ruling the country at the Centre as well as in the Provinces. People had sacrificed and suffered in the fight for freedom at the call of the Congress trusting that it will lead them to the promised land. The Congress had made commitments to the people in this behalf and therefore, it would have been sheer betrayal if it had, without honestly trying to honour those commitments, suddenly disappeared from the Indian scene, or changed its field of activity from the political to the merely constructive. In spite of all its drawbacks and shortcomings it was still only the Congress which could command the respect and willing obedience of the great majority of the people throughout the length and breadth of this country and therefore it alone had the strength to keep the people together. The Congress had become the symbol of the country's unity. And unity was the greatest need of the hour when India had to pass through calamities, unparalleled in the history of the world, before and after the 15th of August, 1947. Thus the Congress could not divest itself of its political character and responsibilities; to do so would have been like scuttling the ship in mid-ocean.

But let us assume for a moment that as expressed by Gandhiji, the Congress had been turned into a constructive organization. What would have been the result? Ninety if not ninetynine out of hundred Congressmen would not have found any place in this new organization and almost all the top-ranking Congress leaders, on whom the onerous duty of carrying on the administration of the country at the Centre and in the Provinces had fallen, would

have been compelled to found a new political party. For men like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel could not have been expected to leave their posts of duty. If Gandhiji was alive to advise us in these matters, he would surely have counselled them to remain where they were. This was inevitable for, the Congress has been a political organization from the very beginning. No doubt in 1920 under Gandhiji's leadership it became a revolutionary organization and the source of its non-violent strength lay in the constructive programme. Parliamentary activity was later added to its programme of carrying on a non-violent struggle against foreign rule. As Gandhiji himself said, not only had the parliamentary mentality come to stay as a concession to the constitutionalists in the Congress, but it also became an important and integral part of the fighting programme of the non-violent revolution started by him. The parliamentary activity attracted a large number of Congressmen.

Incidentally it is often forgotten that though the Congress accepted non-violent non-co-operation and Satyagraha of Gandhiji in 1920, it was mainly as a means to achieve political independence and never as the basic principles of the Gandhian way of life or of a new social order. To the vast majority of Congressmen Gandhiji was essentially a political and not a moral leader. The moral and purificatory side of his programme was accepted by the generality of Congressmen more as a price of his leadership than as a matter of inner conviction or acceptance of a higher moral and spiritual code. No one was more aware of this than Gandhiji himself. We see the truth of this statement in the present day attitude of the majority of Congressmen towards governmental power and service of the people through constructive work. Today it is a sad sight to see them putting more faith in power than in service.

This does not mean that Congress never accepted constructive work as part of its programme for Swaraj. On the contrary, it was the constructive work that generated the necessary strength which enabled the Congress to fight its non-violent struggle with the foreign power. If in Panditji's words *khadi* became 'the livery of freedom' and untouchability today has been declared a crime according to the law of the land, it is due to the fact that the Congress gave all its moral and material support to the constructive programme of Gandhiji.

This is all true; nevertheless the major portion of Congressmen's energy and time were spent in actually fighting the foreign power or working in the legislatures — Central or Provincial. There were difficulties in the way of the Congress applying itself solely to constructive work. To do constructive work successfully a certain amount of faith or devotion, continuity and application to details are essential. The Congress being a fighting political organization could not possess these in the requisite amount. Gandhiji knew this and therefore he formed under the auspices of the Congress, autonomous bodies for carrying on various items of his constructive programme. The All-India Village Industries Association and the Hindustani Talimi Sangh were set up by the resolutions of the Congress. He insisted on keeping these bodies non-political and non-communal so that they may be able to command all the constructive talents in the country irrespective of party or community for national regeneration. His policy was not to involve these constructive organizations in the day to day political activities of the Congress or its struggles with the British Government. While the Congress drew its sustenance mainly from the work of these bodies, they never directly participated in the various struggles started by it. This became possible only because of the marvellous non-violent technique of the struggle. Besides those who were working in these organizations, there were others who under the inspiration and guidance of Gandhiji were independently carrying on constructive activities with their own resources. Gandhiji always wished that they should never entangle themselves in politics and whenever they expressed such a desire he tried to dissuade them from doing so. That is why some of the best constructive workers are today outside the Congress.

SHANKARRAO DEV

FULFILMENT OF SARVODAYA

Addressing the special prayer meeting at Rajghat (New Delhi), on the occasion of Gandhiji's first death anniversary (30-1-'49), Acharya Vinoba Bhave gave a simple but lucid exposition of the fundamental principles of truth and non-violence and explained the significance of Gandhiji's martyrdom. Shri Vinoba pointed out how the murder was a challenge to them all for the fulfilment of the *Sarvodaya* ideal.

"A year ago, on this very day, and exactly at this hour was perpetrated the tragedy for which we have for ever to hang down our heads in shame. But the same incident can, for us, become a source of eternal inspiration also. It has brought us home the distinction between the body and the soul.

"Several people asked why was Gandhiji, who was a true man of God, was not protected by Him. But I ask you, could there be a greater protection than what Gandhiji was provided with ? That we do not realize it on account of our attachment for the flesh is a different matter. The *Quran* says, "Think not that they are dead, they who are killed while treading the path of the Lord. They do live, even if you cannot see them." And again, "Even death, on the path of the Lord is life, and life on the path of Satan is death itself." All his life, Gandhiji tried to tread the path of truth and goodness. He preached the same to his people and was murdered for that very exhortation. Blessed was his life and blessed also was his death!

"Many a saint have preached the path of righteousness. Man is not, however, yet fully

convinced that good alone begets good. He is still experimenting to see if good can come out of evil as well. He does not doubt that a *babul* (thorn) tree cannot produce a mango fruit and vice versa. May be, in the ancient days even this might not have been so clear to him. But the present age is convinced that so far as the material world is concerned, the law of relation between the seed and the fruit holds good. In the moral sphere however, he has not yet shed his doubts. He of course realizes that goodness generally pays, but he lacks the conviction that unadulterated goodness has the power to do good.

"There are some who recognize the principle of unadulterated goodness in private life. They accept this as necessary to attain salvation. But social life, they think, cannot be pursued without adulterating it with some evil. They believe that the world lives and prospers on a mixed ration of truth and untruth. Gandhiji never accepted this doctrine, and made us practise the fundamental principles of truth and non-violence on the social sphere also. As a result we have achieved some kind of Swaraj. It has brought us satisfaction to the extent we obeyed his injunctions. That our Swaraj is not all what it should be is due not to a flaw in his principle, but to its imperfect implementation. A geometrical theorem established in the case of one ordinary triangle must apply to all three-sided figures. Similarly if it is true that absolute purity is beneficial in private and personal life, it must be so in the collective life of the society also.

"There are some who believe that it is enough that our aims and objectives should be in accordance with truth; it does not matter what means are employed to achieve them. Gandhiji had always opposed that theory. He was prepared to sacrifice even Swaraj for the sake of truth. Not that he did not want Swaraj, or under-valued its importance. What he wanted was to emphasize the necessity of employing pure means for achieving it. All his life he strove for Swaraj, but he always declared that Swaraj could be won only by truthful means, and that such Swaraj alone would be the right one.

"He who works for an ideal must be careful more about the means than about the ends. Correct pursuit of means is the achievement of the end. The distinction between means and ends is therefore but imaginary. Means not only lead to end but shape it also.

"Every one, as a matter of fact, believes in the correctness of his own end and ideals. The claim of good ends therefore has no value. The idea that there should be no inconsistency between the ends and the means is not new. But its extensive application in India is without a parallel. There are some others who say that insistence on truth and righteousness is good; but action in every condition is much more important. If the insistence on righteousness makes you inactive, the ideal need should be lowered a little. To them inactivity is unthinkable. This too is an infatuation and a fallacy. When people had to remain in jails for long periods, they employed the phrase, "rotting in prisons". Gandhiji used to point out that there was power hidden even in the inaction of a pure person. This is action in inaction in the inimitable language of the *Gita*. Action is no doubt important, but truth and righteousness are even more so. One may remain inactive under particular conditions, but one may never give up truth.

"Then there are some who believe themselves to be 'practical people'. They like truth, but they think that there is risk in practising it unilaterally. They are afraid that they would have to suffer if they scrupulously adhered to truth and non-violence while their opponents practised untruth and violence. These people really do not know the value of truth. Otherwise, they would not argue thus. Do they ever argue that they should go without food if their adversary did not eat? Food, they know, gives strength, irrespective of what the adversary does. If they can take food without worrying about the opponents there is no meaning in not practising truth and love unilaterally. To act as the opponent acts amounts to playing into the adversary's hands and handing over the initiative to him. This is a cowardly attitude which creates a vicious circle and gives a merry-go-round to wickedness. To break it, one must act courageously with love and generosity without calculating the consequences. After all it is truth, love and righteousness which are positive and real. Untruth etc. are negative and unreal. It is the conflict between light and darkness and what has light to fear therein?

"This is the philosophy of Satyagraha, as I have understood it. Herein lies the welfare of all. Therefore it is also called the philosophy of *Sarvodaya*.

"Gandhiji's murder is a challenge to us. We can accept the challenge only if we have complete faith in truth and are determined to pursue it in our lives, individual as well as social. Otherwise, not only may we not dare to accept the challenge, we may, even against our will, be joining the assassin's camp.

"I hope Gandhiji's release from the body will infuse new strength into us and through diligent pursuit of truth and non-violence make us fit workers for the ideal of *Sarvodaya*."

D. M.

(*Translated from the original in Hindustani*)

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI

By Nirmal Kumar Bose

With a Foreword by Gandhiji

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KEY TO HEALTH

By M. K. Gandhi

Translated by Dr. Shushila Nayyar

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NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

HARIJAN

February 27, 1949

QUALIFICATIONS OF REPRESENTATIVES

The Constituent Assembly has taken two very far-reaching decisions regarding the future Constitution of India. It has deliberately chosen the British model in preference to the American model of democratic constitution. It has decided in favour of adult suffrage and direct election of members to the House of the People and the State assemblies. We have thus by one leap as it were reached the stage which was reached by England after a long struggle extending over centuries in the course of which many traditions and conventions have grown up which are no less important and binding than any provision in a written constitution. The first elections under the new constitution will involve participation in them by a very much larger number of men and women than have participated in any election ever held in the world's history till now. The organization required for conducting them will be vast and the total expenses involved cannot be easily estimated. The results of such elections may well defy all forecasts.

The question which naturally arises is: Will the elections give the best results, that is, will they return people who are best fitted morally and intellectually to give the best and most suitable laws and to run the administration of the country in the best possible way so as to realize all the high hopes that have been formed of our national government? In all elections there are two factors which have to be counted: the education and vigilance of the electors, and the ability, public spirit and devotion to duty of the elected representatives. In taking the decision which the Constituent Assembly has taken, it has proceeded upon the assumption that every individual who has attained the age of 21 possesses the necessary education and is capable of exercising the vigilance necessary in electing a fully qualified legislator, unless he is disqualified by proving his inability to escape the verdict of a court declaring him of unsound mind or bankrupt or punishing him for certain crimes. It is a very big assumption on which we have proceeded, particularly in the absence of any background of recent experience and traditions of democratic elections on such a vast scale. The constituencies will be tremendous. In the case of State assemblies, they will comprise about 75,000 people of whom somewhere between 40 and 50 thousands will be voters assuming that each constituency will be a single member constituency. In the case of the House of the People, the constituencies will be ten times as large. Will it be possible for the voter to know his representative and to keep any kind of control over him, and for the representative to maintain any contact with his electors? The chances are that the voter will vote for a candidate without knowing much about him. I think this happens in other countries also and by itself will not be a big handicap, provided the candidate happens to be a fit and honest person and not a selfish and unscrupulous adventurer. The Constituent Assembly has not yet taken any decision regarding the qualifications of a candidate, and the Draft Constitution has made no recommendation on the point. The question requires and deserves serious consideration.

The function of the Legislature is to make laws and in the system which has been adopted it also runs the administration through its representatives who take and hold office only so long as they enjoy its confidence. It is well known that a public servant who has to carry out the administration in accordance with orders issued by a minister or with policies laid down by him is a highly qualified man who has been given special training for the particular job he is entrusted with. For example, the police officer and the ordinary policeman are trained in one way while the officer dealing with the revenue and expenditure of the State is especially qualified in accountancy. Similarly, other officers and men concerned with other departments have their special training. The person entrusted with the duty of administering the law and the person who has to assist him in the discharge of his duties are both required to be highly qualified. Does it not sound strange that while the persons who carry out policies and execute orders or who administer the law are required to be specially qualified, the person who formulates the policy and issues the orders or who makes the law is not required by the Constitution to possess any moral or intellectual qualifications? It is a serious lacuna and unless removed, it may lead to serious consequences. It is true that he has to be elected, but an unscrupulous demagogue without real knowledge and character can impose on the electorate. When parties and groups are formed, based not on principles but on narrow parochial, sectarian or even personal and selfish considerations, the presence in Legislatures of persons with true public spirit, wide sympathies and an appreciation of the requirements of the country as a whole becomes apparent and essential. This requires both intellectual and moral equipment of a high order which must be ensured in the candidate who seeks election.

The difficulty in practice is in defining the qualifications in a form in which they will not only be easily understood but also ascertainable by a judicial tribunal in case of dispute. The age of a candidate is easily ascertainable and if a high age is made a qualification, it may imply a certain amount of experience and knowledge of human affairs which are valuable in a legislator. But age by itself obviously is not sufficient. Educational qualification can be made ascertainable by reference to certain fixed standards, as for example, a university

degree or a certificate of having passed a certain examination or of having been educated in a particular institution. Apart from the fact that some highly intellectual persons may not satisfy such a test, a qualification of this sort will shut out the vast bulk of our people from being elected at any rate at present, when even the knowledge of three R's is confined to a very small percentage of the population. The most difficult although the most essential to lay down is a test which will ensure in an ascertainable form the moral and spiritual qualities of a legislator. Honesty, public spirit and such other qualities are impossible of measurement and ascertainment. The only measuring rod which can be employed in judging whether a person possesses them is his own life and experience of his past activities, but even these are difficult measures.

I am raising this question and placing before the public the absolute necessity of laying down qualifications for legislators as also the difficulties in doing so, with the object of stimulating serious consideration of it. Dr. Bhagwandas has given a lifelong study and thought to it and has made some concrete suggestions in his *Outline Scheme of Swaraj* which was adopted by the late Deshbandhu C. R. Das.

The Commonwealth of India Bill which was prepared under the inspiration of Mrs. Annie Besant also contains some concrete proposals. Both are being reproduced separately in the *Harijan* for ready reference. These may be considered as indicating the lines on which we may proceed.

13-2-'49 RAJENDRAPRASAD

SUGGESTIONS OF DR. BHAGWANDAS

QUALIFICATIONS OF ELECTORS

1. Every individual of either sex who has resided in India for at least seven years, and is at least twentyfive years of age if a man, and twentyone years if a woman, should be entitled to elect to the Local Panchayat.

2. The members of the Local Panchayat should elect to the District Panchayat.

3. The members of the District Panchayat should elect to the Provincial Panchayat.

4. The members of the Provincial Panchayat should elect to the India Panchayat.

QUALIFICATIONS OF REPRESENTATIVES

5. The members of all four grades of Panchayats should be permanent residents of the country, preferably of the particular centre, and should be chosen irrespective of their creed, caste, class, colour, race or sex, but subject to adjustment, where unavoidably necessary, for purposes of credal and communal representation.

6. Such representatives should ordinarily be not less than forty years of age; should have done some good work in any walk of life; should, if rural, be at least literate, and if urban, should possess higher educational qualifications, and in the case of rural and urban members of the Provincial and India Councils, should have corresponding higher and superior educational qualifications or equivalent expert experience; should have retired from competitive business or other professional life of bread-winning or money-making, and be able to support themselves on their own savings, or be assured of all necessaries and personal requirements by their families or friends; should give practically all their time to national work, and should do so without any cash remuneration. But their travelling and other ex-officio expenses, which might be necessary to enable them to discharge their public duties, should be met from State funds, and their status as Members of Panchayat should be regarded as having greater honour attached to it than any salaried office, so that they would receive precedence at public functions.

7. The members of each Panchayat should possess between them, experience of all the main departments of the communal life which they have to administer.

8. No one should offer himself, or canvass for himself as a candidate for election; but, if requested by electors, he might publicly signify his consent to accept the burden of office if elected.

SUGGESTIONS OF DR. ANNIE BESANT

QUALIFICATIONS OF REPRESENTATIVES

(a) The Village Panchayat: All electors.

(b) The Taluka Sabha: Electors of twentyfive years of age and above with either of the following qualifications: (i) Education up to the Primary Grade; (ii) Ex-members of Village Panchayats, having served for one complete term.

(c) The District Samiti (Rural) or Municipality (Urban): Electors of twentyfive years of age and above, with either of the following qualifications: (i) Education up to the Lower Secondary or Middle School Grade; (ii) Ex-members of Taluka Sabha or Ward Panchayats, having served for one complete term.

(d) The Legislative Council: Electors of twenty-five years of age and above, with any one of the following qualifications: (i) Education up to the High School level, or equivalent general or technical training; (ii) Ex-members of a District Samiti or Municipality, having served for at least one complete term; (iii) Members of Councils of Chambers of Commerce, or Landholders' Association, or Industrial Associations or Trade Unions, or such other bodies as may be recognized by rules.

(e) The Legislative Assembly: Electors of twentyfive years of age and above.

(f) The Senate: A person to be included in the electoral panel of the Senate shall be a person eligible to become a member of the Legislative Assembly, and have rendered conspicuous public service and shall have completed the age of thirty years.

[Note — It may be noted that Dr. Bhagwandas' scheme recommends a scheme of indirect election. As the Constituent Assembly has already decided in favour of direct election, clauses 1 to 4 of his scheme need not be considered. — ED.]

UNADJUDGED OFFENDERS

On the 18th January last Shri Mamasaheb Phadke of Gujarat was returning from the meeting convened to meet Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at Bardoli. He tried to entrain the Ahmedabad Passenger at 8 p. m. at Sachin. As Mamasaheb has very weak eyes, he was guided by a companion. The train does not stop long at Sachin. The platform was insufficiently lighted and, as luck would have it, Mamasaheb and his companion tried to get into a compartment occupied by some prisoners under transfer orders and their police escort. The escort and the prisoners began to push out Mamasaheb using at the same time filthy language. The result was that when the train started, Mamasaheb was hanging on the foot-board of the compartment with a bag and an umbrella in one of his hands. The companion drew the attention of the train guard at the situation and he was good enough to stop the train. But the place at which the train stopped was such that between the guard's compartment and the compartment near which Mamasaheb was hanging out, there was a small bridge over a streamlet so that it was impossible for either Mamasaheb to go over to the guard or for the guard to reach him. When the train stopped, the escort and the prisoners changed their tactics by asking Mamasaheb to hand over his bag and umbrella to them, as if they wanted to allow him to get into the compartment. Mamasaheb under that belief handed over his things inside. Then they pushed him so that he came on the ground. Mamasaheb asked the party to return to him his things, but there was no response. As the train re-started Mamasaheb just managed to take hold of the bar of the next compartment. It was also occupied by another batch of prisoners and police escort, but they were good enough to allow him to get into the compartment. When the train arrived at Surat, Mamasaheb approached the head of the police on the station to get back his things. The police officer searched the compartment, but by that time the things were somewhere done away with. Everything that Mamasaheb possessed as private property was in that bag, namely a cup, a brass box (*dabba*), eye-drops, spectacles and some money and, of course, the umbrella. The people whom the police escort was taking to another prison were adjudged offenders against society. The policemen were no better either in civility or offence against society. Only it had not been adjudged so by a court of law. Perhaps that is all the difference between us and those whom we detain in prisons for various terms.

I trust the Inspector General of Police of the Bombay Government will look into the conduct of his staff. But this is a matter for the Police Departments of all the Governments in India to seriously consider. The policeman of an independent nation must regard himself as the helper, guide and protector of the people, and the people must feel in him a friend, whom they could always turn to with confidence in case of need, who will, even to his own inconvenience, look first to the comfort of the public. Filthy language must be removed from the mouths of the people like loose and diseased teeth. The social education movement is as much needed for literates as for illiterates.

Wardha, 14-2-'49 K. G. MASHRUWALA

A CO-WORKER AND WITNESS GONE

With the death of Shri Jamnadas has gone one more of the living witnesses of the discovery of Satyagraha by Gandhiji and his earliest experiments in it in South Africa, and a co-worker on whose help I had greatly counted. In many respects he reminded one of his elder brother Maganlal Gandhi, (whom Gandhiji, in an obituary in the *Young India* at that time, described as his 'best companion') in his truthfulness, business capacity, punctuality, neat and methodical habits and particularly in his deep devotion and loyalty to Gandhiji and his ideals. In demonstrating his revolutionary technique of opposing physical might with the strength of the spirit which Gandhiji had evolved in South Africa, he employed, for the first time in the history of such fights, women and children in the South African Satyagraha struggle to the disapproval and dismay of orthodox politicians. Many of them, however, who came to scoff, remained to pray. Jamnadas with Manilal Gandhi and Ramdas Gandhi was one of the youngsters who were privileged to join in that struggle. If I remember aright, he constituted one of the sixteen with whom at one stage Gandhiji launched his Satyagraha campaign in South Africa. When I first came to Gandhiji in 1920, Jamnadas was in England where he had gone to study Commerce and Economics. But he returned in response to the call when Gandhiji sent him a cable at the beginning of the non-co-operation struggle, and toured with him as part of his entourage during the early days of the non-co-operation struggle. Later, on the death of his wife to whom he was greatly devoted, he retired to Rajkot, where he served for some time as the Principal of the Rashtriya Vidyalaya. When I met him on my return from Noakhali in December last, he volunteered to come and stay with me at Harijan Colony, Kingsway, and work with me in the preparation of Gandhiji's biography and the related writings. But God had willed otherwise and just a few days after that he got the fever from which he never recovered. To the last he remained a devoted soldier of Gandhiji, whom Gandhiji could command in an emergency without any hesitation. India will need many such sons in the arduous task that lies ahead.

Delhi, 10-2-'49 PYARELAL

PUBLIC FINANCE & OUR POVERTY

By

J. C. Kumarappa

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NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

EDUCATION OF HARIJAN GIRLS

Addressing the inmates of the Harijan Ashram (Sabarmati) on 19-1-'49, Shri Vinoba, in his post-prayer speech, dealt at length on some of the points connected with the education of Harijan girls.

The work of Harijan service was a revolutionary work, and they could hardly get a better atmosphere elsewhere for that purpose. The Harijan Ashram had its origin in the fast that Gandhiji undertook in 1933 for the sake of Harijans. Referring to Gujarat and its language, Gujarati, Shri Vinoba said that although Gandhiji had poured out all his heart through Gujarati, Gujarat seemed to take very little interest in the Harijan cause, which was so very dear to him. He however felt that the present indifference would not last long, if the work that was going on in the Ashram was properly done. Ignorance could not stand against the light of knowledge.

Shri Vinoba expected three results from the education imparted to Harijan girls at the Ashram. The first was cleanliness. It was generally believed that Harijans lacked cleanliness. The prejudice against Harijans would disappear if the girls at the Ashram got such training in cleanliness as might be a model for others to follow.

Shri Vinoba's second expectation was the quality of knowledge. They were imparting education not merely to Harijans but to Harijan girls. Shri Vinoba insisted that they should get the best of learning. He was of opinion that women needed knowledge to a greater degree than men. But it should be knowledge which did not touch only their talents, but made its way to their hearts. They would then win over the whole society.

In education, Shri Vinoba stressed the need of clear and correct pronunciation. Pronunciation, he said, was the mirror of one's ideas, and indifferent pronunciation betrayed lack of proper training. Correct pronunciation combined with good knowledge facilitated proper expression.

His third expectation was regarding their training in crafts. Untouchability had been forced on Harijans, with the result that on the one hand, certain occupations were made compulsory for them, and on the other hand, several occupations were closed against them. Training in different useful crafts would enlarge their hope in life and free them from the present bondage of limited occupations.

It was necessary to be ever vigilant on the above three items in educating the Harijans. But on the top of these stood the basic need, the building of character. It could never be too strongly emphasized. They should remember that they lived in the abode of Gandhiji, and if they lacked in character, they would be regarded unworthy of him and would merit the world's censure. He therefore hardly needed to deal with it at length, and referred only to external attainments.

With education as outlined above, the girls would lag behind none. They would not be wanting in knowledge. And humility they possess from birth. Humility was a force, which was stronger than the power of insolence. And humility combined with knowledge made that force unlimited. It was not necessary to compare the Harijan girl students with other girls. Shri Vinoba did not like such comparisons. He used the current terminology unavoidably. The right thing was that they all had to become Harijans. The term itself implied that pledge. He who was not a *Hari-jan*, the devotee of the Lord, would be called *asur*, a demon, and who would like to be that?

D. M.

(*Translated from the original in Gujarati*)

THE LATE HARILAL DESAI

Shri Vinoba was invited to unveil the portrait of the late Shri Harilal Desai. After the ceremony which was held at Kapadvanj on 16-1-'49, was duly performed, Shri Vinoba paid a fitting tribute to the memory of Haribhai. He remembered how he took lessons in French from him at the Baroda High School and remained his student for about three years. His relations with his late teacher were more spiritual than social, for Shri Vinoba lacked the capacity of developing social and formal contacts. He knew that Shri Haribhai not only loved him but also had regard for him. Shri Vinoba did not recollect a single occasion when Haribhai had either got annoyed with the students or ever inflicted harsh words on them. Haribhai's look always reminded him of the Sanskrit saying वदनं प्रसदसादनम्. . . His face was the abode of grace. Everyone therefore had regard for him. Students were often merry with their teachers and Haribhai was not an exception; but they never transgressed the proper limits with him. Teachers of his like did not only teach but also rendered service. He was indeed a real *sevak* and the fragrance of his service was not unknown to the people of Kapadvanj. It was evidenced by the fact that they had been preserving his memory even after twenty years since his death. They had founded several institutions in his name and each still rendered social service under his inspiration. Of greater importance was the group of workers which had formed there and had grown like a family. That was Haribhai's special contribution and the amiability which was his gift was still evident in the atmosphere.

Sages, continued Shri Vinoba, had said that it was the body that perished and not the soul. They realized this truth when they saw how people like Haribhai left behind them the fragrance of their memories and the inspiration of their amiability. Haribhai, according to the measure of the world might not be regarded a great man. But he was no doubt a very sincere man, who spread the lustre of his sincerity wherever he went. The size of the

letter did not influence the significance of the word; similarly it was the pure and humble service that was recognized by God — not the quantity and the field of service influenced by him.

Shri Vinoba, thereafter offered a few suggestions to the group of Haribhai's workers as to how they could proceed further in their service. The order, the best of its kind, which was given by their ancestors in this connection had been neglected and hence there was all round scarcity of workers. Should it not be possible to have one thousand workers in a town of twentyfour thousand population? That was not a big number indeed, said Vinoba. Why was the number not forthcoming? asked he. Hindu scriptures had laid down that one should work for the progressive development of every *ashram*, i. e. of every one of the four orders in life. spending a few years in the *Grihastha* (householder's) stage, one should devote oneself to meditation and service. Haribhai was unattached in the *Grihastha* stage. Hence he was able to render real service.

Reading rooms, adult education, or medical aid were but insignificant activities compared to the magnanimous task of ideological revolution which they had all inherited from Gandhiji, and such a revolution demanded great effort. The wicked were to be won over by love and non-violence, defeat was not to be known, and *Rama Rajya* was to be established. All that required, freedom from passion. It was the restrained life alone that could generate the power capable of influencing the surrounding atmosphere. Men like Hanuman and Lakshman who had conquered their senses were the persons competent to propagate the ideal of *Rama Rajya*. Not that ordinary householders had no place in the field of social service; but only those who were free from worldly attachments had the power to uplift the society and it was only they whom people could follow.

The group of the workers there, Shri Vinoba continued, would shine and grow, if those who appreciated his (Vinoba's) ideas tried to transform their lives into channels of self-restraint. That was the message which Haribhai's life had meant for them, for Haribhai was dedicated to service, was pure at heart, and was free from worldly attachments. Could there be a greater memorial to him than to develop those qualities of his in one's own life? His portrait otherwise could have no meaning, for after some days people would get used to look at it and would forget its significance. It was the worship of ideals alone that counted.

Concluding, Shri Vinoba hoped that they would try to practise the few things at which he had pointed, for thus alone could his presence bear fruit.

Earlier, Shri Vinoba performed the opening of the Gandhi Garden and unveiled the portrait of Mahatma Gandhi at the Kapadvanj Municipal Hall. He also addressed a workers' meeting in the evening, and proceeded to Sabarmati Ashram thereafter.

Sabarmati, 21-1-'49 D. M.

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

NOTES

Mechanized Agriculture

In the 19-9-'48 issue of the *Harijan*, which was lent to me by an Australian friend of mine, I read Shri D. K. Gupta's article, *Why Tractors Then*? Perhaps Shri Guptaji did not realize the fact that Indian agriculture can be easily mechanized even without the aid of a tractor. It is the implements like the disc plough, combine harvester, reaper and binder etc. which are playing a dominant role in the agricultural advancement of various countries. Teams of bullocks or draught horses could be effectively employed instead of a tractor. The mere fact that we are precariously short of petroleum products should not blind us to the value and importance of these machines which require a certain amount of lubricating oil only. Time has come when we will have to say goodbye to primitive and out-of-date methods and adopt modern methods of mechanized agriculture.

I have formed these views after taking into consideration the pros and cons of the subject. They might help dispel the wrong notions which many people have and the undue importance they attach to the tractor.

Dooen (Australia) S. C. DASS

Search for Peace

[Among those who attended the Pacifists Conference which took place at Sevagram last week, was an old blind sadhu named Sharananandji. He participated more than once during the three days' discussions, and made some valuable utterances. I note below a few of his pithy sayings. – K. G. M.]

Truth is greater than wisdom. Wisdom is greater than science. Science is greater than production of material objects. Material objects are greater than possession of money.

The cause of our miseries is that we give precedence to possession of money, and back seat to Truth.

The knowledge of science is faultless. It is the scientist who is at fault. If he becomes corrupt, he becomes a slave of money and power, and uses his science for evil purposes. If he remains pure, he applies it for making the world happy. Therefore, improve your learned men first. Give them wisdom. For, wisdom is greater than science.

Until you are at peace with yourself, you cannot bring peace into the world; you cannot know how to do it. First, therefore, attain your own peace and contentment. You might then be able to pacify your neighbour.

S.

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

Correction

In *Harijan* of January 30, 1949 (XII-48) on page 412 (column 1, read *fierce* in place of *fine* line 4) and omit *and* in the last line under 13 March. In *Harijan* of February 6, 1949 (XII-49) on page 420 (column 2, line 7) in place of *quarrel* read *war*.

In *Harijan* of February 13, 1949 (XII-50) on p. 426 (column 2, last line of paragraph 2) for *return* read *returned*.

VACCINATION AGAINST T. B.

The Madras Government appears to have decided upon giving B. C. G. vaccine inoculation for tuberculosis to students of all schools in Madras. I do not know whether this measure is going to be compulsory. I hope it is not. Vaccination and inoculation are, after taking into account every argument and fact in their favour, not at all free from danger to health and are not even quite successful in carrying out its intended purpose. This particular vaccine has been denounced by other medical authorities. The correspondent who has drawn my attention to the above writes :

" Eminent physicians have all opposed and given their opinion against B. C. G. tuberculosis vaccine as dangerous. Dr. Schmidt, the well-known Berlin doctor, has demonstrated that B. C. G. tuberculosis vaccine is dangerous to health and that death has been caused by it. Prominent Austrian children's doctors and specialists on tuberculosis abandoned B. C. G. vaccine for tuberculosis five years ago; among them is no less an authority than Professor Dr. Von Piv, the greatest school medical authority, who gave his opinion of tuberculosis vaccine in Vienna Medical Weekly in the following words :

'The tubercle bacillus can establish itself in the organism through the B. C. G. vaccine for tuberculosis and the result cannot be foretold. Such a dangerous process cannot be approved or tolerated. The Vienna Health authorities have refused to introduce B. C. G. tuberculosis vaccine. In France numerous doctors have reported serious injuries and deaths from B. C. G. vaccine for tuberculosis. Prof. Dr. Koch says :

'It is the overcrowded dwellings of the poor that we have to regard as real breeding places of tuberculosis ; it is out of them that the disease always crops up anew and it is to the abolition of insanitary conditions that we must first and foremost devote our attention if we wish to attack the evil at its root and wage war against it.' "

I hope the Madras Government will not take any hasty step and in any case will not compel students against their own and their guardians' wish to get vaccinated.

I am aware that my correspondent will not be satisfied with my protest in this mild form. My hesitation arises from the fact that in spite of my conviction that right prophylactic measures against various diseases are sanitation, nutritious food, clean habits and surroundings, pure air, light and water, and not vaccines and inoculations, yet when the former are not available and cannot be quickly organized and speedy measures are necessary to arrest the spread of a disease in a virulent form, vaccination becomes an unavoidable necessity in spite of all the evils attributed to it. Those of us, who regard this activity as a sin against health and nature, must help in creating conditions for rendering them unnecessary, by energetic and quick execution of sanitary and other programme. It is not that the Government regards vaccination as a substitute for sanitation, and does not care and work for the latter. But it often feels compelled to resort also to vaccines etc. because by its very nature, the other work requires more time, more workers and day to day application. Until this is fully organized, the other may have to go on. Only it should never be forced on people, who have objections to it and should never have such faith induced in them as if they were a talisman against their respective diseases.

Wardha, 15-2-'49 K. G. MASHRUWALA

GANDHIJI'S ECONOMIC THEORIES

" The love of God may be defined as the love of one's fellowmen raised to the highest power "— it was Gandhiji's unique contribution to the evolution of mankind to translate this definition into dynamic action. Few among the seers known throughout the ages and fewer still among the founders and leaders of nations, great or small, have come so near as Gandhiji did, towards relating the politics of time to the politics of eternity.

If the term politics is interpreted in a broad sense, Gandhiji's was an attempt to effect not only a social revolution but a moral one as well. It was a new civilization predominently rural and, therefore, aiming primarily and immediately at checking the decay of the countryside and to preventing the degeneration of the rural community. As a far-seeing social thinker, Gandhiji believed in the thesis that it was a community which was predominently rural that had the social basis of democracy secure.

There are not a few among us who hold the view that the mechanization of the basic industry of the country is essential for bringing plenty and prosperity to the countryside. If the present agrarian system stands in the way of such mechanization, they would scrap the system, making it possible for agriculture to become a large-scale enterprise. A centralized agriculture, Gandhiji however sensed, was a contradiction not only in terms but of the natural law. Such large-scale farming does not possess the capacity to produce enough both qualitatively and quantitatively per acre. Productive efficiency dependent as it is upon the capacity for good husbandry displayed by the individual devoted to the soil, is impaired in large-scale impersonal operations, while, obviously, the essence of quality, however modest the degree, is to be individual and unique. It is the philosophic basis of this tenet that appealed instinctively to Gandhiji. Mass production appeared to him to be the anti-thesis of individual men engaged in making things of quality.

It is this horror of mass production turning human beings into automatons and a dread of the possibility of their being enlisted, under the orders of the centralized authority controlling such production, for purposes of mass destruction that, apart from other reasons, made Gandhiji advocate decentralized production in industry. A highly centralized society could not, according to Gandhiji,

for long remain democratic, in as much as the ruthless urge for efficiency in matters economic that it inevitably fostered, bred an equally ruthless avidity for political domination. Without democracy, he foresaw, there could be no scope for a classless non-violent social order.

It is not only the philosophical aspect of the future mould of our economic organization that impelled Gandhiji to take the stand that he did. It was also the practical economic aspect as well. It is futile, if not foolhardy, to draw upon the experiences of the achievement of rural prosperity gained by these methods in countries such as the United States of America, Canada, Australia or even Russia with conditions, social and economic, very dissimilar to ours. With the possible exception of China there is no country in the world where the pressure of population on the land is so great as with us in India. There is no country with so large a cattle wealth as ours. Years ago Ruskin urged that not till all muscle was fully employed should machines be used. Muscles rot with idleness, much to the detriment of the community, particularly a community where, as with us, the means of sustenance are scanty. The plough cattle employed on the land feed on the land — and not like the machine on fuel imported from abroad — but in return they return one hundred per cent to the land in power and in their food residues apart from the use that can be made of their carcasses when they die. The manurial value of cattle dung provides the most valuable ingredient from which the soil can derive nourishment. The mechanized farm often becomes, however, a graveyard of old machines. That production per acre will be quantitatively greater or qualitatively superior is wholly uncertain; the output per man may be higher. This, however, can only mean that fewer persons will be needed on the land; and with our vast population already unemployed or underemployed, it will be, as Gandhiji foresaw in relation to industries, a superhuman task for any Government to face in future.

Two considerations, presumably, weighed with Gandhiji in resisting action on lines which are supposed to have led to rural prosperity elsewhere. Such action has flown from the desire for quick results. With his inborn faith in an unseen power, Gandhiji was never in a hurry to gain ends; but invariably he bestowed more care and thought on the means. Speeding in the wrong direction, instead of taking us to the goal we had in mind, might lead us to chaos. Besides, like the true democrat that he was, Gandhiji believed that "the really precious things which democracy preserves and cherishes may be slow in their unfolding."

The second consideration, apparently, was a unique outlook on the human contribution towards material progress. All human activity to be worthwhile, Gandhiji ever and anon emphasized, should be creative. As a postulate, no human being should derive his livelihood from the creative labour of others. In a regime of large-scale production, whether in agriculture or in industry, pride in work is not deemed as an asset in output. In several processes in industry, skilful handwork surpasses in quality the work done by the machine, while for the rural community all true husbandry, as has been aptly described, expresses a kind of reverence in its manipulations of natural substances. Both the right and the wrong way of doing things, Gandhiji averred, have an indirectly moral bearing on the work and the life of those who engage themselves in labour. Thus, as Gandhiji asserted again and again, physical labour directed to the production of things needed for human life is not only honourable but is holy. It is with the enslavement of human beings for purposes of economic exploitation that labour has become degraded and with the intensive growth of mechanization has become synonymous with drudgery. To put an end to such degradation of human values was the mission of Gandhiji's life, because as one who valued the spirit in man, he longed for and strove for unchaining that spirit so that it could express itself in labour that was art — the highest manifestation of man's creative instinct.

24-1-'49 V. L. MEHTA

"VIOLENCE BETTER THAN COWARDICE"

I have seen this saying of Gandhiji being frequently quoted of late. It is used as if Gandhiji thereby wanted the people and the State to resort to violence rather than be suspected of cowardice. In the context in which Gandhiji expressed this idea, it was quite proper. But maxims, generalizations, or "tabloid" sayings become misleading and mischievous when used as sanctions for particular policies or exhortations.

The fact is that there is no contradiction between violence and cowardice; for cowardice is never non-violent. It is only violence suppressed under adverse external forces; or, say, expressed fear is suppressed violence, i. e. cowardice. When the suppressing force is removed a coward is more brutally violent than a brave regular fighter. The latter has a code of honour even in his free fight. The coward is without it. He knows only anger, revenge and unrestrained brutality, along with the use of heels as soon as fear reappears. What is, therefore, meant to be said is that honourable and open fight under a well-understood code of honour is superior to cowardice; but the firm spirit of non-violence is the best, because there is violence both in fight and cowardice. India's goal is not to cultivate violence either of the regular fighter or the coward, but to cultivate the spirit of non-violence, i. e. winning the opponent by suffering, sacrifice, service, sympathy (fellow-feeling) accompanied with non-co-operation and even civil resistance to the evil in him. It is not that a person should acquire the art of violent resistance or should have cultivated the spirit of violent resistance before he can adopt non-violence.

Wardha, 7-2-'49 K. G. MASHRUWALA

THE INIQUITY OF VIVISECTION

III

WHERE ARE THE RESULTS ?

What is there to show for the mounting toll of animal torture and human debasement? When Faust sold his soul to the Devil he got at least that for which he had bartered it away. The vivisectors who claim exemption from the laws of human decency and demand ever-increasing facilities and funds for their sadistic pursuits — what have they got to show for their activities? They are in much the same position — and their recommendations should be valued accordingly — as the woman, always free with her advice on child care, who declared, "I ought to know how to bring up children; I've buried six!" This infamous practice of vivisection has been going on so long that it is surely not unreasonable to ask what the perpetrators have to show for it.

Were not the main facts about diet known before the hundreds and thousands of wretched laboratory animals paid with their sufferings and with their deaths, sometimes by slow starvation, that we might be able to call the nutritive elements "vitamins"?

In our *Theosophical Free Tract No. 11*, we presented in some detail *The Case Against Vaccination.* We shall not, therefore, go again here into the failure of vaccination for smallpox, which is no longer compulsory in Great Britain, though it unfortunately is still in parts of India. We believe with the late A. R. Wallace, O. M., F. R. S., that "a condition of health is the one and only protection we required against all kinds of disease, and to put any product of disease whatever into the blood of a healthy person is to create a danger far greater than the disease itself."

The failure of diphtheria immunization has been spectacular and tragic in its results. In Germany it was made compulsory in 1940 and the number of cases jumped from 142,685 to 236,000 two years later. It was made compulsory in France, in the second and third years of life, after having been widely practised before. The incidence per 100,000 jumped from 35·9 in 1939 to 118·7 in 1943. Dr. J. Tissot, Hon. Professor of General Physiology at the National Natural History Museum, Paris, declared last December that vaccination with diphtheria toxin had inoculated serious diphtheria upon about 150,000 children in France since 1940, and killed 15,000 of them.

It is often not realized that the serums and vaccines which millions take unthinkingly in blind submission to medical orthodoxy's current fad, involve great suffering of animals in their production. A physician wrote in a popular article in *The Sunday Pictorial* of 14th October, 1945:

> It is said that these experiments are merely the prick of a needle. . . . The initial act is no doubt only a prick but the animal who has been injected is kept alive often for days until it has developed peritonitis and died in atrocious pain.

The torture of any animal is bad but the fact that smallpox vaccine preparation involves cruelty to the cow should be more widely known by Indians, too many of whom are ready to bow to any Western medical superstition that is urged upon them.

In a striking article in *The Nineteenth Century* long ago as 1929, Beatrice E. Kidd wrote of the vested interests concerned in the immunology cult:

> So long as bacteriology is the means of livelihood of thousands and is subsidized by the government, and the makers of vaccines and sera pile up their huge profits, so long will hundreds of thousands of animals, prisoned in our laboratories, be sent to a doom which men and women of sympathetic imagination must needs contemplate with horror; and so long will their sacrifice be quite fruitless.

Take that scourge of humanity — cancer. In spite of several decades of futile sacrifice of thousands of animals in the laboratory, there have been no resulting suggestions of a cure, and deaths from this dread disease are on the increase. In the U. S. A. it has become the second greatest cause of death. *Common-Sense About Cancer*, approvingly reviewed in *The Medical World* a few years ago, suggested that orthodox medicines themselves may be one of the main cause of cancer, essentially a disease of civilization.

Dr. Monkton Copeman, F. R. S., said that, "notwithstanding the enormous amount of time, money and energy which have been spent on cancer research all over the civilized world, they were still as ignorant as ever as to the cause of the disease."

It was of this problem of cancer that Dr. Beddow Bayley, M. R. C. S., L. R. C. P., wrote in *Cancer: The Failure of Modern Research:*

> . . . . . Until the complete futility and moral unjustifiability of animal experimentation are more generally recognized, there is little likelihood that lines of thought and experience so entirely foreign to the mental outlook of those who uphold the practice of vivisection, but essential to the true comprehension of the problem, will be found acceptable.

Insulin for diabetics is a discovery to which the defenders of vivisection point with pride, asserting triumphantly that this boon to the human race cost "only thirty dogs". But how do they account for the fact that since the introduction of this "wonder drug" the mortality from diabetes has been rising in a medically "advanced" country like the U. S. A.? Between 1933 and 1944, the last year for which statistics are available, deaths from diabetes rose from 21.4 per 100,000 to 26.4.

Dr. R. Fielding-Ould, M. D., M. R. C. P., M. A., wrote in *The Animals' Defender* for June 1947, that "during the last thirty years the infliction of intense torture on unknown myriads of sentient animals

has not resulted in the discovery of a single remedy of acknowledged and generally accepted value in the cure of disease". Dr. Banting's experiments on living dogs, he declared in *The Sunday Pictorial* article cited,

> have not added one whit to the knowledge we had fifty years ago when Dr. Abram, Professor of Medicine in the Liverpool University, was treating diabetic patients with pancreatic extract, which is now known and boosted by the manufacturing chemists as insulin.

The hackneyed demand based on the assumption of beneficial results from vivisection, "Would you spare the life of an animal and let your own child die?" is shown by the barren record of vivisection to be completely irrelevant.

Kill not — for Pity's sake — and lest ye slay
The meanest thing upon its upward way.

— *The Light of Asia*

LETTERS FROM YERAVDA MANDIR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

VII

[To a co-worker who asked if one could see God face to face while still living.]

This question never worries a liver of the *Gita* life, for he is entitled only to strive and must not bother about the consequences. Still I am inclined to think that perfect realization of the Supreme is impossible so long as one is subject to the limitations of life. He might reach the door but cannot enter as he still bears his body like chains. However he should be ever conscious of pain due to separation from God; if this pain is not felt he will be negligent in his effort and might even stop it altogether. The pain must not cause despondency but must be the spring of hope everlasting and a spur to stronger effort. Remember the *Gita* promise that the least little effort never goes in vain. Therefore the pain of separation too must be a source of joy for the aspirant, as he is confident that he is bound to reach his goal sooner or later.
(Translated from Gujarati)

VIII

India is to me the dearest country in the world, not because it is my country but because I have discovered the greatest goodness in it. It has been subject to foreign rule, it is true, but its subjection too is a proof of its goodness. The status of a slave is preferable to that of a slaveholder.
(Translated from Gujarati)

IX

[Indu Parekh, an Ashram boy, asked, 'Shri Krishna got Bhishma killed by placing Shikhandi in front of him and prevented Jayadrath from seeing the sun by covering it up with the sudarshan chakra. Was his conduct on these occasions justified? And if it was not, can we enact such scenes as a part of our school theatricals?' Gandhiji replied to him on a slip of paper of the usual size for children, 4 inches long and 2 inches broad.]

It is an excellent question. The *Mahabharat* is poetry, not history. The poet tries to show that if a man resorts to violence, untruth too is sure to come in, and even people like Krishna cannot escape it. A wrong is a wrong, no matter who the wrongdoer is. Krishna was at fault in both the cases, and if my memory serves me right, Vyasa too takes an unfavourable view of these incidents. There may be no harm in enacting such scenes if such conduct is clearly shown as unworthy of imitation. *(Translated from Gujarati)*

X

[To Shri Narandas Gandhi, the Secretary of the Ashram]

I have my doubts about the propriety of enacting such scenes. I do not think we can derive any benefit from scenes in which big people have acted unworthily. Children are apt to draw the moral that if big people behave like that, so can we. I therefore think that our theatricals should be of a different kind altogether like say Rabindranath's *Muktadhara* or Maithilisharan Gupta's *Anagha*, which is very good indeed and fit to be presented to the children there. The Hindi is simple and sweet, and the subject-matter leaves nothing to be desired.
(Translated from Gujarati)

XI

Vanity is emptiness: self-respect is substance. No one's self-respect is ever hurt except by self, vanity is always hurt from outside.

In the phrase 'seeing God face to face', 'face to face' is not to be taken literally. It is a matter of decided feeling. God is formless. He can therefore only be seen by spiritual sight.

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